# Professional Strike-Breaker Led Little Rock Mob

## Mayor Denounces Pal of Faubus for Organizing Violence

By Joseph Keller

The Little Rock events have revealed a direct link between Jim-Crow violence and organized strike-breaking in Arkansas, Florida and other Southern states.

Newspaper reporters and other eyewitnesses had disclosed last week that a close associate of Governor Orval Faubus of Arkansas, State Athletic Commissioner James T. Karam, had been prominent in directing the activities of the white racist gangs that terrorized and assaulted Negroes at Central High School on Sept. 23. This was the immediate event leading to the sending of federal troops.

**Karam, it has since been established, was the head of a professional strike-breaking agency formed in 1916 and active in Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana and Texas. The agency was disguised as a veterans organization called the Veterans Industrial Association. It was financed by business men and was pledged to combat "foreign-dominated labor unions that are today keeping our country in grief, turmoil and strife."**

Karam's VIA was denounced by union officials as a "strike-breaking outfit."

A Sept. 27 Associated Press dispatch from Little Rock reveals: "Mr. Karam frequently was observed at Gov. Faubus' news conferences in the governor's mansion—during the time national guard troops were keeping out 'unauthorized persons.' At the very time Karam was directing the racist mob in attempting to prevent nine Negro students from entering Central High School, Mrs. Karam 'was then with Gov. and Mrs. Faubus at the Southern Governors Conference in Sea Island, Ga.,' reported the United Press on Sept. 27.

Little Rock's Mayor Woodrow Wilson Mann has charged in a telegram to the Department of Justice that "the mob that gathered was no spontaneous assembly. It was agitated, aroused and assembled by a concerted plan of action."

ACCUSED BY MAYOR

Mayor Mann said Karam was "one of the principal agitators" of the white hoodlums who beat up Negro newspapermen and tried to break through police lines to attack young Negroes who had slipped into the school.

**"The manner in which the mob was formed and its action," stated Mayor Mann, "together with the presence of Jimmy Karam, leads to the inevitable**

(Continued on back page)


# THE MILITANT

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# Labor's Independent Political Action Urged by SWP Ticket

## A Program To Abolish N.Y. Bias

By Lillian Kiezel

Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Pres. N. Y. City Council

**There are 850,000 Negro people in New York City. There are almost half a million Puerto Rican people. Made up in large measure of descendants of nationalities or religious groups which have themselves felt and still feel the injustice of prejudice, the white working class and middle-class population of this city is, perhaps more than anywhere else in the U.S., against racism, segregation and Jim Crow.**

Despite the political power which their numbers should bring the Negro and Puerto Rican peoples, and despite the support of millions of white workers in the fight against discrimination, New York is notorious for its segregated housing, segregated schools, and discrimination in jobs and wages.

The Socialist Workers Party fights to abolish all forms of segregation and discrimination not only at election time but throughout the year. The politicians of the Democratic and Republican Parties try, even at election time, to duck and dodge the issue and, at the very most, give out with some vague and insincere sweet talk. The current municipal campaign here in New York is a good example.

WAGNER'S RECORD

In a TV campaign speech on Sept. 30 Mayor Wagner, keeping a straight face, promised in point ten of his program: "To continue our vigorous program through the Commission on Intergroup Relations to eliminate from our city all signs of racial discrimination and prejudice."

**This "vigorous" program has left the schools in the same segregated conditions they were in last year (250 out of 800).**

It is true that Superintendent of Schools Jansen has claimed, in a "progress report" to the press on Sept. 30, that 5,000 Negro and Puerto Rican children have been integrated this year as a result of his new zoning regulations. But he refused to divulge the names of the schools that had been integrated out of alleged fear of starting trouble in those neighborhoods.

The Parents In Action Against Educational Discrimination have investigated this claim. They say that they cannot find any evi-

(Continued on back page)

*Socialist Candidates in N.Y. Elections*

The Socialist Workers Party slate in the New York elections. From left to right: Morris Zuckoff for Comptroller; Joyce Cowley for Mayor; Lillian Kiezel for President of the City Council; and Alvin Berman for Borough President of Brooklyn. With campaign headquarters at 116 University Place, they are appealing for the active support of every partisan of the socialist cause.

## Socialists Offer Answer to N.Y. Workers' Needs

By Joyce Cowley

Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Mayor of New York

Many issues will be raised in this campaign — some important, some phony. I and my fellow SWP candidates intend to concentrate on the important issues even though the Democratic and Republican candidates will try to center public attention on the two-bit and phony issues.

JOYCE COWLEY

But of all issues one stands first in importance. That is: Who shall rule New York City? Shall it be big business, the bankers, the real-estate sharks and their political agents? Or shall it be the working people and the exploited, discriminated-against Negro and Puerto Rican peoples? Shall we continue to have plutocracy or shall we have democracy?

That is the overriding issue of the campaign! The choice every voter will face at the polls boils down to voting for a capitalist party or for a workers' party.

Working people are the tremendous majority of New York's population. It is their democratic right to intervene in politics, to put **their** representatives in City Hall, to govern this city as it should be governed — in the interest of the **majority**, not of the tiny, privileged, profit-happy minority — to make New York a decent place in which to live, work and raise families.

But the working people do not have a great party of their own — either in New York or in the rest of the country. The top labor officials, who have in most cases usurped from members the right to run their own unions, have committed the union movement to supporting the Democratic Party's politicians. The union officials try to paint up these politicians as "friends of labor and minority peoples," but the paint is pretty thin. The true master of these Tammany politicians is revealed by the sweatshop conditions, inadequate, overpriced Jim-Crow housing, police brutality, witch hunt in the schools and civil service, city sales tax, etc., etc., which have flourished under Wagner and his Democratic predecessors.

The working class can break out of the trap of political impotence — into which the labor leaders have led it — by no longer giving support and votes to a boss party or its candidates. It must take the road of independent political action in its own interests. A beginning can be made in New York and in this election. The Socialist Workers Party campaigns for the building of a Labor Party under a fighting leadership and for a labor administration in City Hall. Voting SWP on election day will advance the workers, the Negro and Puerto Rican people toward that goal.

Thelma Mothershed, one of the nine heroic Little Rock teenagers who braved racist mobs to attend Central High School, and her mother, Mrs. A. L. Mothershed, study a photograph of Eisenhower and Gov. Faubus shaking hands.

## New York and Strontium 90

Last June a top research man for the U.S. Weather Bureau testified before the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy. He told that body that according to an analysis of the rain water collected on the roof of a building at Columbus Circle in New York, the amount of strontium 90 falling on this city in January, 1957 was 14 times as great as the amount that fell here in March, 1954. However, it was said, the increased amount was "not thought to be dangerous to the city's residents."

CAUSES CANCER

Strontium 90 is produced only by nuclear explosions and is absorbed into the blood stream with milk, water and food. In sufficient quantities it causes fatal cancer of the bone.

When the revelation was made about this huge increase of this deadly fallout it made a lot of New Yorkers realize that the nuclear-test menace was not simply a problem for remote Eniwetok or perhaps those living near Yucca Flat in Nevada. It confronts every New Yorker as well. Such reaction to the Weather Bureau finding was perhaps most eloquently expressed then by the New Yorker magazine. On June 8 it had the following to say:

WHOSE THINKING?

"It's hard for us to imagine strontium 90—the name has a got-up sound, like something out of science fiction—but we accept the fact that it exists and is capable of killing us all off in a particularly gruesome fashion. That we have even a little of it falling on us unawares is, from the layman's point of view, frightening enough; fourteen times that strikes us as downright terrifying. Moreover, when we read that the total wasn't 'thought' to be dangerous, we felt worse, not better. Who was doing this thinking and what was the information on which his thinking was based? How long would it be before he knew for sure? How much longer could we afford to wait?"

FALLOUT HIGHER NOW

**Remember, that 14-fold increase was before the major atomic test series just concluded in Nevada. The present rate of fallout is necessarily higher. That is why the Socialist Workers ticket advocates a city-wide referendum on whether the tests should be continued. Such a vote in New York would galvanize a movement for a national referendum on the issue. The need for such action grows more imperative daily.**

## Hallinan, Billings Back S.F. Socialist Candidates

SAN FRANCISCO, Sept. 28—Vincent Hallinan, presidential candidate of the Progressive Party in 1952, issued a statement yesterday in support of Frank Barbaria and Joan Jordan, socialist candidates for Supervisor in the municipal elections here. Barbaria and Jordan's candidacies were sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party.

**In a separate statement, Warren K. Billings, railroaded to prison with Tom Mooney during World War I in the world-famous Mooney - Billings frame - up case, also gave support to the SWP-endorsed candidates. Billings is at present the Northern California Chairman of the Committee to Free Morton Sobell.**

In England, Hallinan said, ordinary working people are elected to Parliament. At present 33 miners, 12 engineers and three dock workers are Members of Parliament. "This is the political force that arrested colonialism and militarism," he said.

"There are two candidates for the office of supervisor in the coming San Francisco election who would be most-likely-to-succeed in an English Parliamentary contest. Frank Barbaria is an electrician, a socialist, a member of the NAACP, and a long-time fighter in the ranks of organized labor. Joan Jordan is a lithograph worker, labor union stalwart, NAACP member and the mother of three children. She is, likewise, a socialist."

The American working people elect business owners, lawyers and insurance brokers to represent them. "They then get what they should expect from such lawmakers," said Hallinan.

Billings stated: "I urge every one who thinks the working people should have representation in government and who believes that our rights and liberties must be fought for and defended, to vote for Frank Barbaria and Joan Jordan, Socialist Workers Party candidates for the Board of Supervisors in the November 5th municipal elections in San Francisco."

Barbaria and Jordan are both conducting a vigorous campaign of speaking before unions where they call on labor to run independent candidates for office.

"Last week at a union meeting, the secretary asked me for 300 programs to mail out to his members," Barbaria reported.

"It is not uncommon in these meetings for the local officials to make favorable comment after our presentations," said Mrs. Jordan.

**The Barbaria-Jordan campaign committee is planning a meeting on Oct. 30 with Hallinan as main speaker and Billings as chairman.**

(See full texts of Vincent Hallinan and Warren K. Billings' statements on back page.)

## Sweatshops Still Plague New York's Workers

By Alvin Berman

Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Borough President of Brooklyn

**One of the major problems facing New York City — and one which has received no attention from the Wagner administration — is that in spite of "prosperity," hundreds of thousands of New Yorkers are toiling away their lives at tedious, difficult and dirty jobs for wages far below the amount necessary to maintain a minimum standard of health and decency.**

New York City needs a minimum wage law establishing a rate at least as high as present average trade union wages in the better organized industries here. Such a law would put into the hands of the militants in the labor movement a really practical weapon against labor racketeering and the "sweatheart" contract.

A report by a local AFL-CIO committee dealing with shops dominated by boss-racketeer alliances states, "It is virtually impossible to exaggerate the bad wages and working conditions that are common to all these shops." (Sept. 30 New York Post.)

**The committee is appealing to George Meany to help eliminate the jurisdictional bar hindering legitimate unions from organizing these shops. So far, so good. But the racketeer-controlled locals, however, account for only from 30,000 to 50,000 workers. What about the rest of the superexploited workers?**

A Brooklyn garment worker's letter to the Sept. 7 Afro American has this to say: "It is utterly ridiculous to lay the brunt of the exploitation of Puerto Rican and colored workers to crooked labor unions. The membership of all racketeering unions combined does not equal the membership of either one of our mammoth clothing unions [the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union]. "And yet the conditions of the vast majority of clothing workers, as regard to wages, are no less deplorable than the racketeering unions. . . Consider the fact that the raising of the minimum wage to an inadequate $1 per hour actually constituted a pay raise for thousands of ILGWU members.

"Local leaders (as evidenced in my local) heretofore defended the 'sweatheart' contracts of less than $1 per hour (.80 and .90 in my shop) with the brazen lie that the employers could not afford any more."

According to the AFL-CIO Economic Review, the United States Department of Labor, says it takes $1.17 an hour to provide a minimal standard of living for a single person and $2.20 for the breadwinner of a family of four. The Laundry Workers affiliate of the ACW whose contracts cover almost all organized laundries in New York City provides a union scale for inside workers beginning at 95c. an hour and averaging $1.05 — rates which the Dept. of Labor says mean "extreme economic hardship."

**In the face of this, the June issue of the Amalgamated Laundry Workers Bulletin boasts: "The employers know that we are a mature and responsible organization. . . . When the situation required it we have not hesitated to ask our members, in their own interests, to limit their demands."**

Even in well-organized and relatively better-off sectors the bosses have succeeded in establishing a minimum subsistence wage as the average. Average wages in the New York City ILGWU dress shops, for example, are about $76 per week for 35 hours of piece-work intensity. About 35% of ILGWU dressmakers make less than $56 per week. The more numerous sportswear and miscellaneous shops — where the Negroes and Puerto Ricans are concentrated — have even lower rates.

The service industry is worse yet. New York City dishwashers, for example, average 81c. per hour according to a U.S. Labor Department survey published last year.

These sweatshop wages are often accompanied by sweatshop conditions, most of which are in violation of health and safety regulations, which the Tammany machine chooses not to enforce.

**The solution, of course, is not less unionism but more and of the fighting kind. It is the election of a labor administration in New York City that will back up a city-wide union drive to raise wages and improve conditions with appropriate legislation.**

### Lillian Kiezel On TV

Round table discussion on the New York City Council

WRCA-TV

(Channel 4)

Tues., October 22

10:05 - 10:30 P.M.

(Further TV appearances for SWP candidates being arranged. Watch for announcements.)

# Proxmire Gives Brush to Labor After Election

By James Boulton

MILWAUKEE, Sept. 28—"It was a hard speech to make," Senator-elect William Proxmire told the 20th Annual Convention of the Wisconsin CIO, after declaring his independence of the CIO and the labor movement. But it will be no surprise to workers experienced in politics that Wisconsin's new, widely-advertised addition to the "fighting band of Senate liberals," took the first occasion as top speaker at the state CIO Convention in La Crosse, Sept. 26-28, to tell organized labor to go to hell.

The Milwaukee Journal, one of the principal backers of the new Senator for Joe McCarthy's chair, proudly headlined the big Convention news on Sept. 27: "'I'll Take No Dictation,' Proxmire Warns CIO." Proxmire, who comes from the Adlai Stevenson political farm in Illinois, unhesitantly labeled his speech a "declaration of independence."

**He informed the stunned delegates that he was not a candidate of the leaders of organized labor before or after the July 30 primary and, "I'm not their Senator now." Exported to Wisconsin in 1950, he came with the united blessings of top Democratic circles.**

Proxmire's celebrated upset victory over former Governor Kohler at the special election on Aug. 27 was only 30 days old, when he took his stand before the CIO. Hailed by the excited liberals of every shade, in the very midst of the liberal betrayal of the Civil Rights Bill, as a sturdy re-inforcement to the nine "embattled" Democratic liberals, Proxmire allowed the hopes of the lesser liberals and labor officials to balloon for all of 30 days.

HOLLOW VICTORY

Bubbling over the "stunning" victory, Wisconsin CIO President Charles Schultz told top farm, labor, and organizational Democrats on Sept. 14: "Labor has spent on Bill Proxmire since 1952 a quarter of a million dollars—conservatively. But we finally won and it was worth it."

Contributions out of the union hat were certainly big, for example, $5,000 from the United Steel Workers of America's political action committee. But the former junior executive with the J. P. Morgan Co., and former husband of Elsie Rockefeller, is to the manner born and sees nothing unusual in having workers foot the bills. That's capitalism.

**"I'll take no dictation, instruction, or discipline from any leader of organized labor," said the Senator, striking down CIO leadership proposals for Party primary endorsement, party discipline over elected officials, and for a Minnesota-type Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party, as proposed by state CIO President Schultz. "I will not submit to collective discipline," said the new "independent," adding that there was no danger of domination of the Democratic Party by labor, since less than 10% of all card carriers in the state are from its ranks.**

On Sept. 14, in his pitch for stronger party controls over free-wheeling elected officials from the boss parties, Schultz of the CIO had cited organized labor's role in the election of Republican Congressman, Gardiner Withrow, of La Crosse. He related: "After a while Gard goes nuts [turned conservative] and there's no organization to say 'You're all through.'" In the blundering fashion of a class-collaborationist labor leader, Schultz stumbled onto the main argument for the formation of labor's own party and a clean break with company unionism in politics.

FOR MORE FBI

In the Wisconsin political show against the McCarthy menace, Proxmire's liberalism belonged to the "let's have a bigger and better FBI" school. Proxmire's victory has been attributed to the revulsion of "moderate" Republicans against McCarthyism, and to the revulsion of McCarthyites toward the Eisenhower candidate, former Governor Walter Kohler.

**With a tacit and revealing Democratic and Republican agreement not to discuss the issue of McCarthyism, the anti-McCarthy sentiment became a political bonus. The basic factors in the victory are indicated by the hard campaigning of Estes Kefauver for Proxmire. Voting revealed the spread to Wisconsin of the Minnesota farmers' rebellion against inflation and obliteration of the small farmer combined with widespread hostility of Wisconsin workers against the Kohler family.**

(The strike of UAW Local 833, Sheboygan, against the bathtub baron, Herbert Kohler, is now three and one-half years old.)

## It Was Hard -- But ADA Found the Way

**The Americans for Democratic Action, an organization of liberals tied to the Democratic Party, is having some "difficulty in finding issues on which liberals and conservatives differed" in Congress, according to William V. Shannon in the Oct. 2 New York Post, prominent liberal newspaper. It seems that all of 39 House Democrats (out of 233) had "perfect" voting records on the eight most important bills in Congress, but so did 18 House Republicans (out of 200). This made it difficult indeed to paint the Democratic Party as better than the Republicans. But by making it nine bills instead of eight by including Congressmen's stand on a bill to investigate the Republican Administration, the ADA discovered that only the 39 Democrats had a "perfect" record, since the Republicans had voted unanimously not to investigate themselves.**

# New Attacks Threaten British Labor

By Peter Fryer

Special London Correspondent

**The annual conference of the British Labor Party next week will be dominated by the raising of the Bank Rate to 7%. This step was ostensibly taken to "strengthen the pound," but many economists viewed such an anachronistic weapon for curing inflation with raised eyebrows and grave doubts about its efficacy. Britain's militant workers have no doubts. They know this marks a new stage in the ruling-class offensive.** They see it as the logical sequel to recent talk of a "showdown" with the trade unions over wages. They see it as a step towards the creation of that pool of unemployment which the more outspoken Tory journals have been more and more openly calling for. Above all, they see it as a warning that they must prepare for big battles.

**Hugh Gaitskell (right), British Labor Party leader, shown during his visit with Pres. Eisenhower last year. In center is the British Ambassador to the U.S. At current British Labor Party conference, Gaitskell carried a proposal of the Right wing to "nationalize" British industries by buying a majority of their shares in the open market.**

BATTLE LOOMS

The employers have already made their preparations. The current industrial skirmishes give a pretty good indication of the mood on both sides. Morris Motors recently got tough with their workers and threatened to close down if the campaign for 100% trade unionism continued. A Clydeside shipbuilding firm has made a similar threat. Thirteen unions with members involved in a strike for a third week's annual paid holiday at the de Havilland aircraft factories have agreed to declare "unfair" and to boycott all this firm's branches. This will have the effect of grounding Britannia aircraft and several other well-known British planes. Manchester docks are at a standstill over the suspension of a crane driver who refused to work overtime. There have been ominous cases of victimization on the London docks, two dockers being actually arrested on phony theft charges and released after their mates had downed tools and threatened to bring thousands of men out. These are the rumblings that precede a big storm. The Times is writing frankly of the need for industrial "discipline" and of the possibility of class struggles such as have not been seen for a generation.

**If employers and militants are ready for the impending strife, the same cannot be said for the Labor Party leaders, either of the Right or of the Left. One has only to read this week's issue of the Bevanite weekly Tribune to see how lightly, indeed almost frivolously, the Bevanite leaders are taking the Tory threat to wages and jobs. Michael Foot, its editor, compares chancellor of the Exchequer Peter Thorneycroft to a magician crying "abracadabra". . . . Foot calls for boldness from the Labor Party conference, but he makes no real attempt to give the rank and file the shot and shell they will need in the next few months. The fact of the matter is that the crisis has caught the Labor Party leaders with their pants down.** It has come two years before a general election is due, and Right-wing and Left-wing spokesmen alike find it hard to readjust their thinking to the possibility of the widespread loathing of the Tory Government focusing into a movement that could sweep that government away. Neither Gaitskell nor Bevan is ready for power, psychologically, politically or organizationally. It will be greatly to the credit of the ordinary delegates if they can force their leaders to lead, despite the failure of the Bevanites to provide leadership up to now.

IMPORTANT DEBATE

Indications are, however, that the decisive conference in the post-war history of the Labor Party will be, not the 1957 one, but the 1958 one, after a year of struggle has brought big fresh layers of workers into militant activity and sharpened their critical appreciation of their leaders. Meanwhile one of the most instructive portents is the rift inside the Bevanite wing. Those of them who thought it better to play down socialism until the general election and then slip into power have been discomfited by the turn of events. If the Tories are prepared to raise the Bank Rate, with all that implies, can it really be such clever politics, such "realism," to believe that plans to nationalize more industries when Labor returns to office would "alienate the undecided voters whose support Labor needs to win an election," as the liberal Manchester Guardian puts it? Whether in this new and potentially explosive situation Labor needs draughts of diluted reformism, or good "old-fashioned" socialist fire in the belly, will be discussed on Wednesday, when the policy statement "Industry and Society," is due to be debated. One leading Bevanite, Mrs. Barbara Castle, MP, has made known her opposition to this document, though some of her friends and co-thinkers still, it seems, are inclined to flirt with the idea of tempering the wind to the middle-class voter. At all events reformism of every hue is on the spot.

As for the Right wing, their freedom of maneuvering has been greatly restricted by the Bank Rate decision, for any talk of a coalition government now would mean their rapid defeat. As it is, their domination of the Labor Party is hardly likely to last another year. A new factor, of incalculable future significance, enters the arena at this 1957 conference, and that is the presence of a group of delegates who are convinced Marxists. Some of them were until recently inside the Communist Party. What would have been unthinkable several years ago happens in the normal course of events in 1957. After a few months in the Labor Party these Marxists have won the confidence of their fellow-members, and have been chosen to represent them, an honor and privilege which is generally not won except through hard work and sound arguments. Their presence at the conference will greatly strengthen the fight against reformist leaders and reformist policies.

# House Witch-Hunt Group Begins Buffalo Invasion

By Lou Mason

BUFFALO, Oct. 1 — The House Un-American Committee began a long expected witch-hunting investigation in Buffalo today. A four-day schedule of hearings was opened by a subcommittee chaired by Rep. Willis of Louisiana.

In his opening statement Willis said that the committee is gathering facts to aid in the passing of bill HR 9352, an "omnibus security bill," the "most comprehensive" yet, with "hundreds of provisions." Aside from promoting its new thought-control law, the committee quickly revealed another purpose—to attack and smear militant workers especially in the large steel plants in this area.

**The first witnesses were two customs officials from New York City, who have been roving from one hearing to another. They presented bags of selected mail from the Soviet countries in a clumsy effort to link it up to the activity of local militants. Later a special snooper, who had been sent to Canada, displayed a few Communist Party publications from there. This material was all made to appear very sinister and conspiratorial by Richard Arens, chief counsel of the subcommittee.**

Today's two main witnesses and victims of the committee were Mortimer Scheer and Sidney Turoff, workers from Lehigh Portland Cement and Tube Manifold Co., respectively. They followed completely different courses of conduct. Scheer, accused of membership in the Communist Party, stood on his constitutional rights under the First and Fifth Amendments and refused to answer the usual battery of tricky questions concerning his activities.

DEVIOUS STAND

On the other hand, Turoff, who said he left the Communist Party last April, followed a devious path, answering most of the questions and refusing some on the grounds that he did not see their pertinency as laid down by the Supreme Court's Watkin's decision. This attempt at partial cooperation wound up in almost complete capitulation to the committee.

Approximately fifty more witnesses have been subpoenaed. All those who resist the infringements of civil liberties by standing up against the committee deserve support in their struggle and applause of workers in their shops and throughout the country.

That the Communist Party is not the only target of the Un-American Committee has been already made clear. Fred Turner in a series of red-baiting articles in the Buffalo Evening News has also attacked the Socialist Workers Party. One of his columns entitled "Trotskyist Group Also Has 'Colonizers' in Local Plants" says that the SWP has "a neat little nucleus scattered in area plants." **Included was an additional reference to "Trotskyist womenfolk" who have gone into other organizations "to convert or influence along revolutionary lines the thinking of their associates." Other political tendencies in the labor movement were also attacked by Turner, who has shifted into high gear with the visit of the Un-American Committee to Buffalo.**

## 'All the News That's Fit to Print'

**BUFFALO, Oct. 2 — The Buffalo Courier-Express today refused to run a paid ad by the Socialist Workers Party locally denouncing the House Un-American Activities Committee's intervention in the Buffalo labor movement. (Considered the more liberal of the daily capitalist newspapers in town, the Courier nevertheless stands solidly with big business on any crucial issue — as for example, during the 1949 Bell Aircraft strike, when it outscreamed even the reactionary Buffalo Evening News. On seeing the proposed ad, James Clement, advertising director for the paper, refused to accept it. He said: "I don't like it. I don't want to run it. I don't see any justification for these statements."**

# SWP Publications Fund Gets Off to a Good Start

By Constance Farr

National Campaign Director

The first scoreboard of the SWP Press and Publications Fund is printed in this issue of the Militant. With two months to go, the response in pledges by SWP branches from coast to coast is heartening.

**The importance of making available as much of Trotsky's out-of-print writings as possible gives this fund drive its great appeal. Already, our publications program is making a real impact, not only in this country but throughout the world. Inquiries for Trotsky's works have been coming in from Holland, South Africa, Europe, South America and Southeast Asia.**

Now in preparation is the second number of the Bulletin of Marxist Studies in which will be published many of the contributions of Leon Trotsky on the organizational principles of the Bolshevik party. Volume Seven of the Pioneer Pocket Library, now on the press, will comprise a reprint of an article by Trotsky which originally appeared in Liberty magazine in 1935, and for which there have been many requests. It is entitled "What Communism Would Be Like in America."

TWO NEW BOOKS

Off the press now, and being bound, is James P. Cannon's "Notebook of An Agitator." Already begun is a new edition of Leon Trotsky's "Permanent Revolution" in a new translation by the late John G. Wright. Incorporated in this new edition will be material on the subject which has never before appeared in the English language.

Seattle's Fund Director Ann Dorsey writes: "As you know, this $500 quota is quite a step for Seattle to take. But we realize the tremendous task that has been undertaken in the past period and the necessary increase in the financial expenditures that has been necessitated. We view this as a heartening sign of a party that is rapidly growing and measuring up to the gigantic tasks of the present period."

From Ray Follett, Chicago Fund Director: "You may be interested in knowing that our new member, who joined only two weeks ago, made a pledge of $78 and paid in full on the spot."

Cleveland's campaign director writes: "The prospects for meeting our $600 quota look good. A large amount of the quota has already been pledged. We're aiming at finishing in record time — no last minute rush." The Twin Cities branch also assures us that there is no question that they will fulfill their quota, and have the money in on time. Equally confident are Youngstown and Philadelphia, to mention a few who have been especially enthusiastic.

**Militant readers who would like to contribute should send checks or money orders to: Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.**

## Fund Scoreboard

| City | Quota | Paid | Percent |
|---|---|---|---|
| Newark | $ 240 | 90 | 38 |
| Seattle | 500 | 190 | 38 |
| Youngstown | 300 | 100 | 33 |
| Milwaukee | 250 | 80.50 | 32 |
| Chicago | 1,560 | 490 | 31 |
| Twin Cities | 1,584 | 378 | 24 |
| Detroit | 825 | 184.50 | 22 |
| New York | 4,500 | 979 | 22 |
| Los Angeles | 4 000 | 885 | 21 |
| Cleveland | 600 | 105 | 18 |
| Philadelphia | 480 | 79.50 | 17 |
| Buffalo | 1,800 | 300 | 11 |
| Allentown | 102 | 10 | 10 |
| San Francisco | 450 | 4 | 1 |
| Boston | 600 | — | — |
| Oakland | 240 | — | — |
| St. Louis | 80 | — | — |
| General | — | 75 | — |
| Totals | 18,111 | 3,950.50 | 22 |

# Fall Internat'l Socialist Review Just Off Press

By John Thayer

Just off the press is the Fall issue of International Socialist Review. This magazine, new in format and revamped in content, fulfills the promise of its earlier numbers. The reader will find it an engrossing issue with sparkling articles on a variety of subjects.

In addition to four solid feature articles, there are editorials, book reviews, letters to the editor and his comment and a scattering of boxed items culled from the Big Business press that constitute scathing or amusing observations on life in modern capitalist society. The attractive make-up and easy-to-read typography is enhanced by a number of original drawings by William Cumming.

MEANING OF SOCIALISM

As a contribution to the discussion on socialist regroupment, James P. Cannon submits an article on "Socialism and Democracy" in which he says: "Before we can make real headway in the discussion of other important parts of the program, we have to find agreement on what we mean by socialism and what we mean by democracy, and how they are related to each other, and what we are going to say to the American workers about them. Strange as it may seem, an agreement on these two simple, elementary points, as experience has already demonstrated, will not be arrived at easily. The confusion and demoralization created by Stalinism, and the successful exploitation of this confusion by the ruling capitalists of this country, and all their agents and apologists, still hangs heavily over all sections of the workers' movement. We have to recognize that. Even in the ranks of people who call themselves socialists, we encounter a wide variety of understandings and misunderstandings about the real meaning of those simple terms, socialism and democracy." **It is to the clarification of the meaning and interrelatedness of these terms, so vital to the American radical movement today, that Cannon devotes his article.**

A balance sheet of the recent civil-rights struggle in Congress is drawn by Lois Saunders in "Congress Bows to the South." More than an account of the legislative maneuvering that occupied Congress for a month, this is a study of the living movement of the Negro people, its relationship to the workers' movement, its leadership and its prospects.

"New Stage For the Youth" by James Robertson is an illuminating and encouraging survey of socialist-minded youth forces on the American scene and their first steps toward regroupment in a new kind of youth movement which will be broad, independent and militant. For the recent and current history of radical youth in this country as well as for the meaning of "broad, independent and militant" in this connection, this article is required reading.

The position of the artist under Stalin and his successors in the Soviet bloc is economically privileged and spiritually and artistically degrading. That is how it is in a degenerated workers' state. What will be the position of the artist in a normal, healthy workers' state, and later under socialism itself? This is the subject of Trent Hutter's inspiring article on "The Artist's Prospects." **Agitation and discussion by intellectuals has raised this question to a political issue in the Soviet Bloc. It should be of great interest to socialists in America.**

Allen University, a privately endowed Negro institution in South Carolina, has been informed by state authorities that its graduates will no longer be eligible for certification for teaching. Reason: the university had granted scholarships to five Hungarian refugee students.

# Calendar Of Events

**Chicago**

Fri., Oct. 11, 8:15 P.M. "Little Rock and Chicago — What Unions Must Do About Racial Terror." Speaker: Clifton De Berry, Chicago Militant Labor Forum, 777 W. Adams.

●

**Detroit**

Fri., Oct. 11, 8 P.M. — "The American Way of Life: "The Crisis in Housing." 8737 Woodward. Ausp: Friday Night Socialist Forum.

●

**Los Angeles**

Fri., Oct. 11, 8:15 P.M. — "The Events in Little Rock and the Fight for Negro Equality." Speaker: Grace Bennett, Socialist Workers Party Forum, 1702 East 4th St., Los Angeles.

●

**New York Youth**

Tues., Oct. 8, 8 P.M. Symposium: "The City Elections — What Choice for the Left." Milton Zaslow, Committee for Socialist Unity; Joyce Cowley, Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Mayor; Michael W. Gural, Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation; Tim Wohlforth, Managing Editor, Young Socialist. Sponsored by Young Socialist Forum, Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. Contribution $1 Students 50c.

## Helen Sobell to Be Interviewed on TV

**Helen Sobell will be interviewed on a popular TV program in New York. Here is the listing from TV Guide (Oct. 5 to 11): "Fri. Night Oct. 11 — 11 P.M. Channel 5 — Nightbeat — John Wingate interviews Helen Sobell whose husband Morton, was convicted of conspiracy to commit wartime espionage. Mrs. Sobell is asked about the problems involved in bringing up two children with her husband sentenced to 30 years in Alcatraz and whether she really believes the Rosenbergs**

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## New Stage For the Youth

Big opportunities are opening for the formation of a united, independent socialist youth movement in America. What are the attitudes of the various radical currents toward this regroupment of the youth? Read the optimistic report by James Robertson, a prominent West Coast youth leader, in the fall issue of the International Socialist Review.

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# Union Leaders and Little Rock

The events in Little Rock have a profound significance for the American labor movement. It is no mere coincidence that a professional strike-breaker, as we report on the front page, was an organizer and leader of the white mob violence at the Little Rock High School.

Only recently, the International Union of Electrical Workers, headed by James Carey, lodged bitter complaints with the National Labor Relations Board about Southern employers using racist propaganda to defeat locals of the IUE. Other unions make similar charges.

If anything further is needed to indicate the vital link between racial oppression and labor exploitation, we need only compare the per capita income in the white supremacist South with that of other sections of the country. Whereas the Middle Atlantic states, for instance, in 1955 had an average income per person of $2,100, eleven states of the Southeast averaged only $1,292. The two worst states, Mississippi and Gov. Faubus' Arkansas, averaged only $946 and $1,062 respectively.

This Jim-Crow, anti-union South has become a haven for runaway industries and plants seeking cheap labor. It has supplied a powerful bloc of rabid labor-haters to Congress.

The union leaders know this. It makes their failure to take a militant lead in the school integration fight, particularly in Little Rock, all the more shameful. They have done nothing to mobilize organized labor for real action to back school integration and halt the Little Rock atrocity.

They don't want to embarrass the Democratic Party. They are silent when a Democratic spokesman like Adlai Stevenson refuses to express an opinion on the principle of school integration, offering slippery evasions like his comment, Sept. 29, in North Carolina: "Of the matter of integration in the schools I say only — lest my silence be misunderstood — that if I thought it in my power here today to advance by anything I could say or do the solution of this problem I could speak of nothing else."

That is the stand of a contemptible scoundrel and morally-bankrupt opportunist. It is the stand of the Democratic Party. To maintain their political alliance with such a party, the union leaders have displayed utter cowardice, if not outright treachery, on the school integration issue. The labor movement is paying a heavy price, and will pay more, for this alliance with beneficiaries and protectors of Jim Crow.

# Abolish the House Committee!

The campaign launched by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee at its Carnegie Hall meeting on Sept. 20 deserves the unstinting support of all those who believe in the defense of American civil liberties.

The House Un-American Activities Committee and its senatorial counterparts have long been a cancer poisoning the American body politic. Originally set up as a temporary device of the Big Business politicians to smear the young CIO, it was converted on the motion of Eastland's spiritual progenitor, Congressman Rankin of Mississippi, into a permanent committee of the House of Representatives.

Since then it has been the spearhead of everything reactionary and vicious on the political scene. It is certainly high time that a determined effort to suppress this dangerous public nuisance was undertaken by labor, the Negro people, and all defenders of civil liberties regardless of political affiliation.

It is obvious that this job will take a lot of doing. Ending the Un-American Committee can be accomplished only by a vote of the House of Representatives. Without a party of their own labor and the Negro people — the two largest segments of the population with a fundamental interest in defending civil liberties — are restricted to trying to force the Democratic and Republican politicians in Congress to take the needed action. As the history of the last decade as well as today's newspaper demonstrates these politicians are no champions of freedom on the home front. But they have supple spines and can be made to bow to public pressure, if it is great enough.

A sustained effort to generate enough pressure has been called for by the ECLC. The belated decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court limiting the viciousness of the committee are a valuable weapon. But Supreme Court decisions do not enforce themselves. Every violation of these decisions must be fought within and without the courtrooms. As a legal defense organization, the ECLC is well prepared for the courtroom fights. Its unimpeachable record as a civil liberties organization, above partisan political interest and devoted to the defense of civil liberties for all, gives assurance that such litigation will be carried on in the most principled manner.

More, the ECLC is to be congratulated for recognizing that to be successful the fight must also be carried on outside the courtroom. It must be carried to the American public — especially to the working people. It must be carried to the enemy — that is to hearings of the committee and its spawn of subcommittees wherever in the country they swoop down to do their dirty work.

In announcing the campaign the ECLC listed cities in which preparations for public meetings were under way. In addition it pledged that "there will not be one more hearing of the House Un-American Committee that will not meet with resistance." The ECLC meetings and its fighting slogan deserve all-out support.

# Joseph Clark Presents His Views at N.Y. Meet

By William Bundy

**Joseph Clark, foreign editor of the Daily Worker until he recently resigned from the Communist Party, spoke before about 125 persons here Sept. 27 at a forum sponsored by the Socialist Unity Committee. Until his resignation Clark was closely identified with the faction in the C.P. headed by Daily Worker editor John Gates. The views he expressed at the forum can be taken as representative of the present moods of many Gatesites.**

"I stand for socialism," he said, but "everything is up for reconsideration including Marxism." Clark said he doubted the inevitability of war under capitalism and the inevitability of the socialist revolution. "For the first time in history," said Clark, "the possibility for a lasting peace has been created, perhaps by the 'ultimate weapon.'" He said he stands for "peaceful coexistence" between the U.S. and the USSR and for a peaceful transformation to socialism and he believes both to be at least possible.

BLAMES BOLSHEVIKS

He defended "people's front" politics while recognizing it as a revision of Marxism. The most fruitful work of the Communist parties, according to Clark, was during the "people's front period of 1935 to 1945."

He said the growth of bureaucracy in the Soviet Union was in part due to ideological errors of the Bolsheviks, including Trotsky, and recommended a reading of Martov and Rosa Luxemburg.

**Clark's speech was filled with glaring contradictions. For example, he hailed the break up of world Stalinism but said that the destruction of the Soviet bureaucracy would not be led by the workers. "It will involve pressure from below, but not revolution. As proof of this look at Hungary where the revolution was started by intellectuals and led by Communists," he said.**

He also identified the concept of the united front of workers' organizations with the Stalinist "people's front" slogan. "The greatest failure of Stalinism," said Clark, "was the failure to oppose Hitler's rise with a united front. . . But oddly enough, Trotsky, who was so right in 1933, was dead wrong in attacking the people's front against fascism in Spain and World War II."

Clark attacked Lenin's vanguard-party concept as a "monstrosity." He said all the existing radical parties in the United States were "obstacles to progress." He singled out the Socialist Workers Party saying: "They've developed their own dogmatism. It is true they were right on many things when I was wrong, but what have they got in their moment of vindication? Nothing but a pile of bitter ashes!" (He did not explain what he meant by that.)

He said that for the time being American socialists should discuss all points of view and participate in "progressive struggles," as individuals. He recommended reading Trotsky, and particularly Isaac Deutscher and two British magazines: the "New Reasoner" and "University and Left Review." In reply to several bitter questions on why he had failed to report anti-Semitism and other Stalinist evils in the Soviet Union after returning from there, Clark said: **"I reported it as I saw it but I didn't see very well. I accepted uncritically what officials told me. I ignored some of the facts as coming from tainted sources. Science requires a skeptical attitude, and it requires that we deal with the facts, all the facts."**

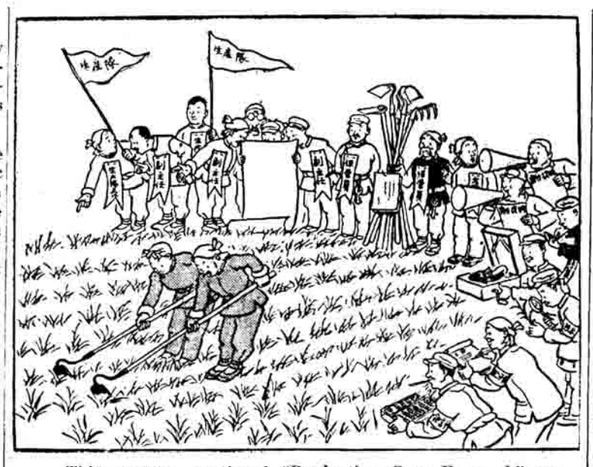
# A Report on Students in China

By Mei Lei-tar

(The following is written by a Chinese Trotskyist in Hongkong based on information received from inside the People's Republic of China. — Ed.)

**HONGKONG, Sept. 8 — The achievements of the democratic and socialist revolution in China during the last eight years have advanced Chinese society by a giant's step. But Mao's party pushed to the head of this great social upheaval, maintained a compromising policy towards all capitalist elements not associated with Chiang Kai Shek's group and built up a bureaucratic dictatorship similar to those in the USSR and East-European countries. As a result the contradictions in China have become more and more acute and complicated. This was laid bare by events after the "let-a-hundred-flowers-bloom-and-contend" policy laid down by the Mao regime last May, after the "rectification" campaign and after the "counterattack against the 'Rightists' movement" that is still going on.**

(The "rectification" campaign was launched by the Chinese Communist Party on April 27. It aimed at correcting three abuses—bureaucracy, subjectivism and sectarianism. The CCP invited the "reforming" capitalists and intellectuals to participate. The "bloom-and-contend" policy was introduced as a measure of democratization.)



**This cartoon, captioned "Production Goes Forward," appeared in May 1956 in the Peking People's Daily. It depicts the problem of bureaucracy in China. The "rectification" campaign announced earlier this year was launched to cope with this problem.**

SPECTER OF HUNGARY

The announcement of the "bloom-and-contend" policy and of the "rectification" campaign let loose an avalanche of complaints on a national scale among students and intellectuals. Their criticism shook up the whole country and overshadowed those of the "reforming" capitalists, political speculators and former warlords. **The student movement, especially, acquired such a momentum that by the beginning of June, in a little more than a month, Tseng Chao-lun, the vice-minister of the Higher Education Department, and Chien Wei-chang, vice-principal of Tsinghua University in Peking admitted that, "A demonstration of students in the streets can occur any minute, and if it unites with the people, there will be a Hungarian event in China."**

As soon as Mao's speech on contradiction—which launched the "bloom-and-contend" program—reached the colleges, the activities of the students began. At first, two groupings were formed among the students with opposite viewpoints, each with its own newspaper put up on the campus walls. With more and more participants, they held symposiums in the halls, in which thousands of students participated. The students demanded democracy in the schools and abolition of the party committee system, which actually runs the schools. These committees function as secret police to investigate peoples' thoughts, interfere with their lives and give arbitrary orders.

Then the students formed their own open or clandestine organizations. Tan Tien-yang, the student leader in Peking University, formed the "Hegel and Engels Faction" and "Hundred Flowers Association." Wu Kai-ping, student leader of Wuchang-Hankow University, published "Flame," a newspaper. Militant students at Peking Teachers' University, all members of the Communist Youth League, formed the "Bitter Medicine Association" — an allusion to the proverb that the more bitter the medicine, the better the cure — and published "The Voice from the Bottom." Chao Tsung-ju and Pei Ping-fu, student leaders of the Teachers' Institute of Sian, formed the "Revival Association." The members of the Communist Youth League in Tientsin Musical Institute formed the "Frank Speech Association" and published "Open Door." There were so many groups formed that we cannot list them all. The biggest groupings were formed in Peking University and Wuchan-Hankow University, which grouped around Lin Hsi-ling, woman student leader of the China People's University, a college for Communist Party cadres.

Lin is 21 years old, a member of the Communist Youth League and a senior law student. She joined the Communist Liberation Army when she was only 13. As a brilliant fighter, she not only possesses unbreakable will and courage but also a genuine Marxist outlook and an understanding of Marxist theory far exceeding that of older intellectuals.

Analyzing the social roots of the three abuses which the "rectification" campaign was supposed to cure, she came to the conclusion that they are the products of the existing regime. She pointed out that "the upper strata of the Chinese society today does not coincide with the socially-owned economic base," because the "party and state have become a bureaucratic apparatus which governs the people without democracy." Since the "socially-owned economic base of our country is progressive, it is the superstructure that must be fundamentally changed." **She quoted Engels to demonstrate that socialism could not be built in a single country and Lenin to show that socialism means the elimination of classes. Then she went on to prove that the USSR and China have not yet become socialist states.**

Lin said, "The authentic socialist society is fully democratic. Since we don't have democracy, I call our society 'socialism built on feudalism.'" She said she wanted to strive for real socialism and added, "I don't approve of reformism but of fundamental change." She came to this bold conclusion because she recognized that the contradictions between the bureaucratic rulers and the masses of the people were irreconcilable.

She said: "It is not enough for the Party to launch a 'rectification' campaign or adopt a measure of reforms as a concession to the people. People are not fools who can be maneuvered around. To solve the problem of China today depends only on the action of the people." How clear a Marxist-Leninist viewpoint! **Through her own studies of Marxism, this 21-year old Communist militant reached the same conclusion as our Trotskyist movement—namely, that a political revolution is needed to really rectify the deformed or degenerated workers' states.**

SPEAKS TO THOUSANDS

Lin made several speeches at the convention of Peking colleges, setting forth her ideas in detail before thousands of students. She also spoke at the symposium in her own college, the China People's University. It is not accidental that she became a distinguished leader in the student movement.

Student symposiums were held in almost every college in all the big cities, including Peking, Tientsin, Shanghai, Wuchang, Hankow, Canton, Chengyang, Changteh, Changsha, Sian, Hangchow, Chungking and Nanking. They all proposed to go back to the principles of "May Four" and called for demonstrations similar to those conducted by students in Hungary last year. (The "May-Four" was an intellectual movement against imperialism and feudalism immediately following World War I. It was led by Chen Tu-shu and others. Chen later became general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party and later still was founder of the Chinese Trotskyist movement.)

**Led by Lin Hsi Ling, the Peking, Tientsin and Wuchang Hankow student organizations were united. The students of Szechuan Province appealed to the students of the whole country for unity and for action. Some colleges addressed petitions to the Higher Education Department. The students of Wuchang-Hankow University went to the streets and villages to make propaganda. The students of Lanchow Medical Institute were also on the streets once. The sentiment of the students kept on rising and finally a small-scale "Hungarian event" did break out.**

On June 12 and 13, 800 students of the First Middle School of Hangyang protested the reduced college entrance quota, wrecked the government offices and Communist Party headquarters and tied up the military past chief who denounced them as "counter-revolutionary" elements. According to a Sept. 8 Reuters dispatch, three leaders have been executed. These are Wang Chien Kuo, a communist Youth League member and vice-principal of the school; Chung Mei-ming, a teacher and Young Wen-you has been executed. Other leaders were sentenced to five-to-ten years in prison.

Just as the student movement had reached the turning point from criticism to action, the Chinese Communist Party sounded the alarm by launching the "counter-attack against the 'Rightists' movement" and began applying murderous pressure on all critics to make them conform once again. Those who had criticized mildly were branded "rightists" just as much as those who had spoken up forcefully. Those who had never spoken up at all reluctantly joined the "counter-attack" to show their loyalty. The capitalist elements, the political speculators, the former warlords and the weak elements had already confessed to the "crime" of criticizing the regime. But the leaders in the student movement and the lower cadres of the Communist Party and its Youth League insisted that they were the genuine leftists and that the Mao regime was reporting to frame-up methods against them.

HONEYMOON OVER

So the honeymoon period in which criticism was to be tolerated is over with. It lasted a little over a month. Control over thought and speech has returned to the same condition that existed before the "bloom-and-contend" policy. But the "counter-attack against the 'Rightists' movement," though still going on, can hardly expect to get any support from the masses who understand that most of the so-called Rightists are real revolutionaries. On the contrary, the "democracy" which the CP chiefs showed during the "bloom-and-contend" period is exposed to the masses for what it really is and the illusions among the masses that the CCP can automatically reform itself have been dispelled.

**The regime is more isolated from the people and hated by them as a result of last spring and summer's experiences. It will take a political revolution to get rid of the bureaucratic regime, establish workers' democracy and advance further on the road to socialism. I am sure that the Chinese revolutionary elements have learned this bitter lesson through the recent movement against the bureaucracy.**

## No Hyde Park For China

**Recoiling against the unexpected reaction to Mao Tse-tung's pronouncement — "Let a hundred flowers blooms," the Peking regime has now discovered that London's Hyde Park orators are a bunch of "conservatives, Fascist elements, Trotskyite elements salvationists, evangelists, and even swindlers," — in fact a veritable bed of "poisonous weeds." There are probably more Stalinist orators in Hyde Park than Trotskyists. But Peking's unfavorable description of Hyde Park indicates that the Chinese regime fears even such an "escape valve" as the one tolerated by the British ruling class.**

# The Gurley Flynn Campaign

By Harry Ring

**The decision of the Communist Party to run Elizabeth Gurley Flynn for the New York City Council has been welcomed by those Communist Party members who are most dissatified with the Party's policy of supporting the liberal capitalist wing of the Democratic party in the name of building a "people's anti-monopoly coalition."**

Recognizing that support to capitalist politicians can only serve to further entrench monopoly rule, such Communist Party members saw the Gurley Flynn nomination as a step in the direction of independent political action in which a working class program would be presented in opposition to the capitalist program of the Democrats. But this view of the campaign is not shared by the leaders of the Communist Party.

The decision to enter the Councilmanic race did not represent in any sense a departure by the CP leadership from their class-collaborationist, coalition policy. It has in fact been motivated and justified by top CP spokesmen as reinforcement for the general line of support to the Democratic machine.

At the same time, however, the Flynn campaign is being used by the party leadership as a means of regaining some ground with those members and supporters who are seeking the road to genuine independent political action. Much left-wing phraseology is being employed in a demagogic effort to demonstrate that at bottom the leadership really favors a perspective of independent politics.

INDEPENDENCE

For example, Albert Blumberg, co-director of the campaign, declared in the Aug. 29 Daily Worker that the campaign would "help extend the beginning of independent labor political action and organization."

This theme was echoed by William Z. Foster in a Sept. 20 Daily Worker article on the campaign where he described the political situation in New York as emphasizing "the ultimate need for a strong independent party of the workers and their allies."

But despite such lip service to an "ultimate" party of labor, the real attitude of the Communist Party leadership emerges. Through the smog of double talk it can be discerned that in reality they favor the re-election of the Tammany candidate, Mayor Wagner.

. . . BUT COALITION

Both the National Administrative Board and the New York State Committee have hailed the Flynn campaign as in complete harmony with the "people's anti-monopoly coalition" policy adopted by the party's past national convention. The policy calls for the CP to string along with the labor-endorsed candidates.

**As is well known, the bulk of the New York labor bureaucracy is in Wagner's camp. And after all, how can you hope to weld a coalition with such "progressive" bureaucrats as David Dubinsky without lending a hand to his electoral machine which is out working to build a similar "coalition" with Tammany Hall?**

This problem is dealt with in several Daily Worker articles on the meaning of the Flynn campaign.

On Sept. 5, William Weinstone wrote a reply to the various arguments advanced by those in the Communist Party who had opposed the proposition to run the Flynn campaign. The "most important of such arguments," wrote Weinstone, "is that the campaign for an independent Communist candidate is in conflict with coalition policies."

"Why should this be so?" he indignantly inquires as he explains that actually the campaign will serve to strengthen the "coalition" activities of CP members in the unions.

How will such activity be aided? "In this election," Weinstone declares, "it is essential to expose the reactionary character of Christenberry. . . It is also necessary sharply to criticize the Wagner administration for its failures on many issues."

When Weinstone speaks of the essential CP task of exposing Christenberry and merely "criticizing" Wagner he is dropping the broad hint that the Party's main fire will be directed against the Republican candidate thus aiding CP unionists who will be busily trying to establish a "coalition" with the union bureaucrats by pitching in on the campaign for Wagner.

**However, just in case the point was not made clear enough by Weinstone, it was picked up again the following day by the Daily Worker's labor editor George Morris. He, too addresses himself to the argument that the Flynn campaign "runs in contradiction to activity in support of the political activities of a union or other organizations."**

Such arguments, Morris also assures us, are "groundless." Why? Because "such a campaign, far from hindering, would greatly stimulate support for those supported by labor as a whole."

Ironically the New York election campaign coincides with the opening of a drive by the CP leadership to "reconstruct" a crisis-ridden and almost completely shattered organization. Yet all they have to offer their members and supporters is the thoroughly discredited old "lesser evil" line, this time offered up in the guise of a "new look" coalition policy.

SAME AS 'OLD LOOK'

This policy has served over the years only to aid the labor fakers in their efforts to keep the workers tied to capitalist politics. It has served to disorient countless radical workers. It contributed mightily toward leading the Communist Party into its present blind alley.

William Z. Foster, in the article previously quoted, is compelled to describe the Wagner administration as "another Tammany-type city government which has plagued New York from time immemorial." Omitted is the disgraceful fact that in 1953 the Communist Party leaders knifed the American Labor Party ticket to help elect that administration in the name of "correcting" the Party's previous alleged "left sectarian" line. **In 1957 they propose to "reconstruct" the Communist Party by performing the same treacherous act all over again.**

# Dallas Editor Praises Leon Trotsky's "History of the Russian Revolution"

(The following review of Leon Trotsky's History of the Russian Revolution, republished last month by the University of Michigan Press, appeared in the Dallas Morning News. It is by William B. Ruggles, editor of the News' editorial page. — Ed.)

From any angle you take, Leon Trotsky was a remarkable man. Enough of a political figure to have been exiled to Siberia at 17, he was the practical organizer of two revolutions in Russia, that of 1905 and the successful one of 1917. This latter feat, upon which the present Soviet is founded is comparable, under practically his single direction, to the work of the many who set up the first French Republic. For the Bolshevik Revolution, Trotsky was at once the Lazare Carnot, the Mirabeau, the Napoleon. Once his revolution was in the saddle, he still had to establish and maintain a government in the face of the considerable White Russian movement and the opposition of the armed Powers.

As it is unlikely that the existence of Trotsky can have antagonized the man who murdered him in Mexico in 1940, it is reasonably certain that a dozen years after he had been exiled from Russia, Stalin still thought him dangerous enough to require removal.

Trotsky's "History of the Russian Revolution" is a monumental work both in size and indeed as a memorial to the man who wrote it. He is one of the few architects of revolution, who had both the knowledge and writing skill to present a first-hand narrative of what occurred before and as the result of the "ten days that shook the world."

Trotsky's big book has just been republished (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, $12.50) in an excellent translation by Max Eastman. Nowadays, when the Communism Trotsky served, perverted to a form he certainly did not advocate, has expanded far beyond his dreams, here is a textbook that the world ought not to ignore. There is a good deal to be learned and a lot that ought to be remembered from Trotsky.

Trotsky was an incendiary Communist at war with the capitalist society but he was also an intellectual. The man who despised the bourgeoisie, the middle-class backbone of continental society, regarded himself as a part of the proletariat, but from his youth he had to lead it. You cannot read Trotsky without accepting the sincerity of his Marxism. You wonder, had Lenin lived, or had Trotsky, not Stalin, won, whether Russia would have had the same form of absolutism which is in power today.

But Trotsky's History of the Russian Revolution has more in it than this conjecture. It is the uncomfortable textbook for change when a few intellectuals can get masses to move with them.

# THE MILITANT

VOLUME XXI — MONDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1957 — NUMBER 40


# B'kln SWP Faces Ballot Threat

## Socialists and Elections

By Morris Zuckoff

SWP Candidate for N. Y. Comptroller

**"Even where there is no prospect whatsoever of their being elected, the workers must put up their own candidates in order to preserve their independence, to count their forces and to bring before the public their revolutionary attitude and party standpoint." This concept, formulated by Karl Marx over a hundred years ago, retains all its forcefulness and validity today.**

The concept of independent working-class political action has been the distinguishing characteristic of the socialist movement since its inception. Genuine socialists have always and everywhere sought to advance the struggle of the working class for its own emancipation, and have resolutely helped to prepare, organize and lead in that task.

Conscious and organized intervention in the political arena by the working class as a whole is not automatic.

Conscious and organized intervention in the political arena remains the primary task of all socialist and radical-minded workers. Election campaigns provide an opportunity for such intervention. The question remains as always — what kind of intervention? This question can only be answered in one of two ways: Subservience to capitalist politics or independent working class political action. Either an unholy alliance — "coalition" politics — with the liberal section of the capitalist class represented by the Democratic Party or a fighting alliance of labor and the minority people against the capitalist class and all its politicians.

The first course betrays the fundamental interests of the working class by keeping it captive of its political enemies; the second course provides the working class with a powerful weapon for combatting their enslavement. **The first method is an extension of the "sweetheart agreement" in the factory to the political arena; the second method calls upon the entire labor movement to break these agreements both in the shop and in politics. The first course is pursued by the labor bureaucrats, liberals, Socialist Party - Social Democratic Federation and the leadership of the Communist Party. The second course is advocated by the Socialist Workers Party.**

The Communist Party leaders, for instance, would confine the task of radicals in elections to "raising the issues" confronting the working people. We of the SWP say that this is by no means enough. That is the kind of slick half-truth which permits the CP chiefs to then suggest that the Democrats will provide the solutions.

**The real solution is completely different, and it is the task of genuine socialists in election campaigns to put it forward. What must be said is this: All basic issues — peace, democracy, racial equality, economic well-being and cultural progress — depend for their solution on the working people organizing to take political power.**

For socialists to engage in independent political action now will immeasurably advance the working class in the struggle for its own emancipation.

## Meet Our New York City Candidates

### Joyce Cowley

For Mayor

**Not only the class struggle in America, but the international class struggle, shaped the life of Joyce Cowley, the SWP candidate for Mayor of New York.**

JOYCE COWLEY

A depression victim herself, she was sympathetic to the new society in the Soviet Union where there were no bosses, depression or unemployment. Like so many others in the Thirties, she had no realization that the Stalin regime in the Soviet Union, instead of carrying out the aims of the Russian Revolution, was betraying them in the interests of the privileged bureaucracy.

After saving a few dollars and coming into a small inheritance, she decided to go to Europe to study in 1932. After spending some time in France, she arrived in Berlin the day after Hitler came to power. For three months she had a front row seat for the advent of fascism and saw what it did to the labor movement. She was horrified by the anti-Jewish campaigns, the book-burnings, the Reichstag Fire and other crimes of the Nazis.

She was bewildered by the Communist Party's line that not the Nazis, but the Social-Democrats, were the main enemy. "Give Hitler enough rope, and he'll hang himself," "Hitler will last three months, then we'll come to power" — these were the official party slogans. She was dismayed by the failure of either the powerful Communist Party or the Social Democrats to fight. Instead, she saw the leaders of these organizations allow the Nazis to smash them.

On her return from Europe she became the business manager of the Modern Monthly, an independent left magazine in New York, politically close to the Socialist Party. Its roster of editors and contributors included most of the luminaries of the non-Stalinist left wing. They all pledged opposition to another imperialist war. But when World War II actually began, they nearly all became supporters of it, or lapsed into silence.

**For Joyce Cowley, the war question was uppermost. For some time she had known of the existence of the Socialist Workers Party and the writings of Trotsky. Now, however, she saw that it alone remained true to its anti-war principles. This decided her, and she joined the SWP.**

Since then she has been an active party member, a militant trade unionist, a prolific writer and educator. On the West Coast for several years, she was a veteran aircraft worker, participating in the five-month strike at Boeing Aircraft.

As an educator she has given courses and written in the Militant and International Socialist Review on U.S. labor history, the position of women in industry, and juvenile delinquency.

### Lillian Kiezel

For President of the City Council

**"When I was still in high school, I was active in the unemployed movement in 1939. In those days the militants among the unemployed would take turns standing on tenement roofs with spyglasses watching for evictions. We'd run to the spot of the eviction, talk with the victims and organize demonstrations against the landlord or the city welfare department.**

LILLIAN KIEZEL

"It got so there were so many unemployed, and so many people needing relief, that we used to keep trying new stunts to get publicity for desperate cases — like the time we drove an old broken-down horse and wagon around the welfare office at Webster and Tremont in the Bronx. We covered the wagon with appropriate signs about how decrepit the relief system was."

Thus reminisced Lillian Kiezel, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President of New York City Council this year.

She began her activities in the working-class movement as a teen-age grievance chairman of a local of the Unemployed Workers Union, during the period she spoke about.

She was a factory worker and member of the United Electrical Workers in New York during the war. She moved to the West Coast in 1948 and became chairman of the local SWP in Oakland, California.

As a Militant reporter in 1952, she intervened in the Gary case in San Pablo (a small city near Oakland). This was a pioneer case of housing desegregation in the area. A Negro family named Gary bought a house in a lily-white section of San Pablo. In the ensuing furor, the NAACP was compelled to set up a 24-hour defense guard around the Gary home.

**Mrs. Kiezel and other SWP members played a vigorous role in this defense guard. The Gary family expressed their highest appreciation for her articles in the Militant and for the SWP's participation in the defense against the racists.**

In the Oakland Key System bus strike of 1953, Mrs. Kiezel injected the issue of union control of bus operation in the course of a public discussion of municipal ownership of the system. She reported the strike sympathetically for the Militant and spoke on a California-wide radio broadcast for turning over the bus lines to union control.

She ran for Mayor of Oakland in 1953 and then for councilman-at-large. In the latter election, she gained 10,000 votes, or 16% of all votes cast.

**As candidate of the New York Socialist Workers Party in the present race for City Council president, Lillian Kiezel expects to campaign before union locals, Negro community groups and all other working class organizations who want to hear the program of a fighting socialist**

### Morris Zuckoff

For Comptroller

**Morris Zuckoff, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Comptroller of New York City, has been an active socialist for more than half of his 32 years. He was born and raised in the lower East Side of Manhattan where his parents made a meager living as semi-skilled workers in the garment accessory industry. The conditions of life his family faced—slum housing, low wages, anti-semitism—aroused in him a deep feeling of social protest at an early age.**

MORRIS ZUCKOFF

The family left New York to escape these conditions in 1935. His father worked for two years at the Ford River Rouge plant near Detroit until he was fired and forced to return to the slums of Manhattan. Morris Zuckoff can still remember his father's talk of the attempts to organize the union at Ford—the hopes of the workers and the savage reprisals of the company against those who dared speak out.

The young Zuckoff started reading about socialism while attending Central Commercial High School in New York. **"I quickly became a socialist of sorts," says Zuckoff, "and wrote some themes on the subject for my English class.**

He enrolled in a college preparatory course at Seward Park High and became active with a group of young people sympathetic with the Communist Party. Later, both his parents became ill and he was forced to quit school at the age of 16 to become the breadwinner for his parents, his two younger sisters and himself.

His first job was as a clerk in a pencil factory where he was a shop steward during World War II. "That's where I first heard about Trotskyists," says Zuckoff. "A lot of the workers wanted the union to push for higher wages even if it meant a strike. As a CP member I had to put the damper on that idea. I was told that these workers were being influenced by 'Trotskyites' who wanted to 'sabotage the war effort.' I began to think the plant was full of 'Trotskyites.' I realized, of course, that the workers there just weren't making enough money to live on. But at the time, the whole situation had me pretty confused. After the war when Earl Browder was expelled I did a lot of thinking, particularly on the lack of democracy within the CP. When I finally met an actual Trotskyist I was curious enough to study his program seriously." **Satisfied that this program really met the needs of the working people, Zuckoff joined the Socialist Workers Party in 1946 and became one of its most active members.**

Zuckoff was a New York City bus driver and member of the Transport Workers Union from 1949 until 1954. He now works as a chauffeur. He still lives in Manhattan's Lower East Side.

### Alvin Berman

For Borough President of Brooklyn

**It is a commonplace of history that a person who stands firmly for progress must suffer the blows of reaction. Alvin Berman, the SWP candidate for Borough President of Brooklyn learned this at first hand long before the present challenge to his candidacy by the Brooklyn Democratic machine.**

ALVIN BERMAN

He was discharged from the Sperry Gyroscope plant in Long Island in 1954 because of his political convictions: He had worked there for four years, and won a reputation as a union militant. The local union membership, in a meeting attended by 4,500, voted unanimously to support his case for reinstatement.

The company fired him as a "security risk" and wrapped itself in the blanket of "government policy." Alvin made a stirring speech at the union meeting, attacking this procedure as naked thought control. He showed with grim logic how the whole working class was endangered by the witch-hunt.

Although he has had a better job since then, he is still continuing his fight to get back in Sperry, since this fight is part of the larger fight of the working class itself.

He was in his teens a member of the Young Communist League, when he discovered the treacherous character of Stalinism. The Nazi Bund was then openly organizing against New York labor — and in 1939, threatening to use its Madison Square Garden meeting to start a pogrom spirit against the Jewish population.

The Socialist Workers Party was calling for a counter-demonstration by labor (which turned out to be so large and effective that it frightened the fascists back into their holes.) The CP branch organizer told Alvin "the worst thing you can do at a time like this is to fight — that's just what the fascists want," etc., etc. But Berman disagreed. Soon afterward he joined the SWP.

Just before being drafted in the World War II, he organized a shop into old Local 65 (now District 65) in New York, and functioned as assistant recreational director of the local.

Alfter his discharge from the army, he was a shop steward in Crucible Steel. He later spent three years in Connecticut, where he was well known as a militant member of the CIO United Auto Workers, active in putting out his local's newspaper, and as a public spokesman and candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

In his his battle against ballot discrimination in the present Brooklyn contest, he intends not to suffer passively any more blows from reaction — but at least to give back two for every one received.

## Tammany Uses Fraud in Move to Rule Out Berman

**BROOKLYN — A challenge against the independent nominating petition for Alvin Berman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Brooklyn Borough President, was filed with the New York Board of Elections on Sept. 19. A hearing will be held by the Board on Oct. 7.**

The attempt to bar Berman from the ballot represents a crooked maneuver by the Tammany machine here designed to assure a closed ballot monopoly for John Cashmore, its candidate for the same office. Cashmore, through a series of deals, secured nomination by the Democratic, Republican and Liberal parties.

The move to strike Berman's name from the ballot has been made despite the fact that his nominating petition contains 7,051 signatures. Only 5,000 are required. Based on a series of legal gimmicks, the challenge is made possible by the State election law which is rigged to facilitate such moves against independent nominees.

Ostensibly the challenge against Berman was made by two individuals, Seth Rubenstein and Joseph Slavin. Curiously, Rubenstein shares a law office with George Rosling, chairman of the Democratic party county law committee. Rosling's principal function in the campaign was spelled out clearly enough by Frank Lynn, staff writer on Brooklyn affairs for the New York World-Telegram.

Analyzing the primary elections, where the Tammany machine stamped out all precinct opposition to Cashmore within the Democratic party, Lynn wrote, Sept. 10: "Democratic legal experts headed by George Rosling and Harold Fisher, chairman and vice chairman of the county law committee, are pointing to the fact that they were able to eliminate all insurgents . . . via the Board of Elections and court challenges. . . "

Lynn also provided the tip-off that it had been decided to challenge Berman's petition even before it was filed. On Sept. 13 he reported that Berman's "candidacy will undoubtedly provide more work for the Democratic legal beagles who specialize in fine-tooth-combing petitions."

**On Sept. 16, the first date for filing independent nominating petitions, Lynn wrote that neither the Socialist Workers Party nor the United Taxpayers Party "is given much chance to even get on the ballot."**

On Sept. 18, a day before Berman's petition was challenged, Lynn's column reported that although Berman had filed more than the legally required number of signatures, "Democratic legal beagles say that they anticipate no trouble finding more than 1,404 invalid signatures" to get him disqualified.

Such a scandalous attack on the civil liberties of a minority party is not new for Tammany Hall. In the 1956 Presidential campaign it used the same kind of legal fraud to knock all minority parties off the ballot in New York State. **In the present Brooklyn election, the Cashmore forces have apparently decided that the record of this Tammany wheel horse is so odious that they must try to silence every voice of opposition to him.**

## Full Text Of Hallinan Statement

**(The following is the text of a statement by Vincent Hallinan in support of Frank Barbaria and Joan Jordan, Socialist Workers Party candidates for San Francisco supervisors. See story on front page. — Ed.)**

In the English Parliament there are numerous ordinary working people, such as 33 miners, 12 engineers, 3 dock workers, etc. These constitute the political force which arrested colonialism and militarism and which fights for public medicine, cheap housing and socialism—in other words, for the welfare of all.

In America, on the other hand, the working people elect business owners, lawyers and insurance brokers to represent them. They then get what they should expect from such law-makers.

There are two candidates for the office of Supervisor in the coming San Francisco election who would be most-likely-to-succeed in an English Parliamentary contest. Frank Barbaria is an electrician, a socialist, a member of the N.A.A.C.P., and a long time fighter in the ranks of organized labor. Joan Jordan is a litnograph worker, labor union stalwart, N.A.A.C.P. member and mother of 3 children. She is, likewise, a socialist.

These introduce a strange note in American politics: that is, they come out directly for public housing, a municipal power system, an F.E.P.C. with teeth in it, trade with China, and acquisition by the City of all public utilities. The classic political device is to pussy-foot on such issues.

Whether such honesty pays off remains to be seen. It would be a hopeful sign if the San Francisco working people would recognize who are their friends and give Mrs. Jordan and Mr. Barbaria a chance to fight for the general welfare.

## Text of Warren K. Billings' Endorsement of S.F. Slate

**(The following is the text of a statement by Warren K. Billings in support of Frank Barbaria and Joan Jordan, Socialist Workers Party candidates for San Francisco Supervisors. See story on front page. — Ed.)**

I urge everyone who thinks the working people should have representation in government and who believes that our rights and liberties must be fought for and defended, to vote for Frank Barbaria and Joan Jordan, Socialist Workers Party candidates for the Board of Supervisors in the November 5th municipal elections in San Francisco.

It is now over forty years since I became a second-class citizen of these United States. For it was then that Tom Mooney and I were railroaded to jail on the frame-up charges of the Mooney-Billings trial. We were what used to be called class-war victims of capitalist "justice." Today, we speak in the more general terms of violations of our civil liberties. But what is more important, a part of the civil liberties of all Americans were taken away when we lost ours. We refused to ask for parole because we did not want to give any validation to the court's guilty verdict that took away our rights and freedom.

I never considered that either Mooney or I achieved our importance because of our individual merits. We merely became a symbol for the injustices perpetrated against all Americans when we went to jail. That is why I have always loaned my name and activities toward the defense of other cases where justice was at stake and the rights of everyone were in jeopardy. I have been active in the defense of such cases as James Kutcher, the Smith Act victims, and I am now the Northern California Director for the case of Morton Sobell, which Barbaria and Jordan have strongly supported. Sobell, like Mooney and myself, was railroaded to prison on false and perjured testimony.

I know some people will say that the old man sings a sad song because he has mellowed with age and is in one of his reminiscing moods. But I do it with good purpose in mind: I think that over the years we have sometimes neglected our responsibilities in the fight for civil liberties. We have allowed ourselves to become partisan and begun to defend only the rights of those individuals with whom we agree.

We have lost sight of the fact that not the opinion of individuals is at stake but our right and liberties. I think that we must return to that old and glorious slogan popularized by the I. W. W., "An injury to one is an injury to all."

## . . . Ark. Strike-Breaker

**(Continued from page 1)**

**conclusion that Gov. Faubus at least was cognizant of what was going on."**

ANTI-UNION ACTIVITIES

Details of Karam's strike-breaking activities are revealed in a sworn affidavit by his former organization director, Louis C. Hicks, of Troy, N.Y. Karam would advertise for applications from war veterans seeking "good paying jobs." These names were simply kept on a list.

**"No jobs are available," says Hicks' affidavit, "but the lists are retained by Karam to be used for strike-breaking. The men are transported to the strike-bound plant and Karam attempts to get them into the plant."**

Hicks further swore that "the VIA was set up as a strike-breaking organization" and that "Karam was just a front man" for the many employers who financed his outfit.

McCLELLAN'S ROLE

This revelation of the close link between union-busting elements and white supremacist forces in Arkansas throws new light on the purposes of the Senate Committee headed by Sen. John L. McClellan (D-Ark). McClellan was visiting Faubus at the very time the latter was using his militia to forcibly halt integration ordered by the federal courts at Little Rock Central High School.

McClellan is an exponent of "right-to-work" laws and sought to attach a right-to-scab amendment to the civil rights bill in Congress this year. **He is associated with the most bitterly anti-labor and anti-Negro elements in the South. While assailing "gangsterism and racketeering" in unions, McClellan has been encouraging racial mob violence and violation of the civil rights of millions of Negro citizens.**

The Jim-Crow racket, it is becoming increasingly clear, has its roots in the efforts of Southern employers and their political agents to maintain a cheap labor force, unorganized and divided along racial lines.

Thus, former Senator, Secretary of State and Supreme Court Justice James F. Byrnes, of South Carolina, on Sept. 26, began an envenomed speech against school integration with an outcry that when an industry moves into South Carolina to take advantage of non-union labor "it is entirely possible that a competitor in a Northern state may encourage a labor organizer to come down for the purpose of arousing dissatisfaction, causing strikes and forcing the expenditure of excessive funds to maintain peaceful relations."

**This may seem the ravings of an inflamed mind. It is, however, the cold-blooded propaganda of a mind representing the outlook of the Southern ruling class, which sees the beginning of the end of its profits and privileges when Southern white and Negro labor unite in struggle against their common exploiters.**

An estimated 2,000 strikers threw rocks and bottles and kept the midnight shift from going to work at the Lone Star Steel plant in Lone Star, Tex. According to a Sept. 24 A.P. dispatch, the strikers formed a human chain around the entrances.

## . . . A Program to End N.Y. Jim-Crow

**(Cntinued from page 1)**

dence of the claimed integration of 5,000 pupils. They have not found one child that has been integrated as a result of Jansen's "program."

What has the Wagner administration done about discrimination in housing? Nothing! It is even trying to ward off a showdown on the watered-down Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs Bill until after the elections. In Wagner's TV Broadcast, referred to above, there was not even a mention of this bill. As for the Republican candidates the best that can be said of them is that they have been eloquently evasive on the issue.

**We socialists are for pushing the campaigns against school segregation and housing segregation with the utmost energy. They cannot be separated. One feeds the other.**

As Socialists on the City Council we would put at the top of our anti-discrimination program:

(1) For a law with enforcement power to abolish discrimination in housing—both public and private.

(2) School desegregation and full and adequate representation of the Negro and Puerto Rican communities on the Board of Education.

(3) A campaign against sweatshop exploitation of minority peoples. Rigid enforcement of existing laws violated by sweatshops and employment agencies. A higher minimum wage to meet actual living costs in New York City. Investigation and open hearings on sweatshop conditions. The calling of a conference of rank-and-file committees from shops to map a campaign to drive out phony unions and labor fakers who work in the interests of the employer rather than the workers.

**A vote for the SWP is a vote to abolish discrimination in all its forms from New York City.**


**Joyce Cowley On Radio**

Sunday, October 20
9 to 9:30 P.M.

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Sat., Oct. 12, 8:30 P.M. — LILLIAN KIEZEL, Candidate for President of the City Council: "The Civil Rights Struggle Today."

Sat., Oct. 19, 8:30 P.M. — ALVIN BERMAN, Candidate for Borough President of Brooklyn: "The Senate Racket Probe and the High Cost of Living."

Sat., Oct. 26, 8:30 P.M. — MORRIS ZUCKOFF, Candidate for Comptroller: "Role of Socialists in Election Campaigns."

Questions and Discussion
Social Follows Each Rally

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